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JOHN FOSTER DULLES

The historic assessment of John Foster Dulles, 69th Secretary of State of the United States, will probably continue as long as this turbulent era of American history is studied. We must leave it to other men in other times to determine his relative importance in history as compared to other great statesmen. However, as a Christian layman he assured himself a prominent place in the history of the ecumenical movement in the United States and the world.

It is most appropriate that we should devote this issue to the life of Mr. Dulles in relation to the work of the churches. More than any other Christian layman in his generation, Mr. Dulles aroused the churches and their members to their responsibility in international affairs.

HIS WORK IN THE CHURCHES

Concerning this work of the church Mr. Dulles himself gave witness. He wrote in 1948 that he had devoted virtually all his life to international affairs, starting in 1907 at the Second Hague Peace Conference, but that he came to a deep conviction about the importance of Christianity in these matters in 1937. He said of his experience at the Oxford Conference on Church and State: "[It] convinced me that there was no way to solve the great perplexing international problems except by bringing to bear upon them the force of Christianity. Everything that has happened since confirms the soundness of that conclusion."

His years of outstanding leadership in the work of the churches in international affairs began in 1941. At that time Mr. Dulles became Chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace founded in December 1940 and related to the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches.

In the agonizing years of war and its aftermath, Mr. Dulles gave constant and compelling leadership through the churches and public service seeking a just and enduring peace. During those years, working with the Executive Director of the Department, the late Walter W. Van Kirk, Mr. Dulles initiated the first of five historic Conferences on the Churches and World Order, led in missions to a hundred major American cities, stimulated thousands of study programs in local churches across the land, and by pen and personal appearance called persuasively on the churches and their members to assume responsibility for a just and durable peace.

The influence of Mr. Dulles made a profound impact on churches and their members around the world in these strategic years of the burgeoning ecumenical movement. Upon invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he and Dr. Van Kirk traveled to Britain in 1942 to confer with overseas church leaders on principles of postwar reconstruction. These partners later brought together leaders of governments-in-exile under church auspices in the United States. They likewise convened an "International Round Table of Christian

DULLES' WORK IN THE CHURCHES (cont'd)

Leaders" from around the world at Princeton in 1943. In a crowning achievement in the ecumenical movement, these two leaders and other world Christian statesmen and churchmen assembled at Cambridge, England, in 1946 to establish the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, to become the specialized agency of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council. In all these undertakings, Mr. Dulles was a moving spirit and served as Chairman in each instance. Thus, pre-eminently, as a Christian layman of particular competence, he gave leadership to the churches around the globe in their growing grasp of their responsibilities in working for a world, under God, of more justice, freedom and peace.

In a moving address in 1949 in the church where his father had preached for many years, in Watertown, New York, John Foster Dulles traced his own ambition to devote himself to the cause of peace back to his boyhood, up through his years of gaining political proficiency, on to the Oxford Conference of the Churches in 1937, and after:

"Then I began to understand the profound significance of the spiritual values that my father and mother had taught, and by which they had lived... From then on I began to work closely with religious groups - Protestant, Catholic and Jewish - for I had come to believe that, of all groups, they could make the greatest contribution to world order. Most of all I worked with the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. During these same years I helped organize the United Nations and attended its meetings and those of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Serving at the same time in both religious and political groups made ever clearer the relationship between the two. I saw that there could be no just and durable peace except as men held in common certain simple and elementary religious beliefs..."

This emphasis on the importance of the churches in work for peace is evident in the thinking of Mr. Dulles through succeeding years of world responsibility as United States Secretary of State. In an article published in the Ecumenical Review in 1956, "Positive Measures for Peace," he wrote:

"...Religious agencies such as the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs have a vital part to play. I remember vividly the Conference at Cambridge, England in 1946 when the Commission was established, and I am convinced that its work during the past decade -- for example, in relation to human rights and refugee problems, in supporting economic and technical assistance, in encouraging the effort to find a sound system of disarmament, as well as in its contribution to halting armed conflict in Korea -- has justified the action of its founders. Its current study of an international ethos will seek to identify the common foundation of moral principles upon which genuine world community must be based. I am confident that, if the religious resources throughout the world are effectively utilized, the dynamic action which is an indispensable requisite for a creative and curative peace will be assured."

In September 1949, Mr. Dulles submitted his resignation as Chairman of the Policy Committee of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill. He was a candidate for the United States Senate and did not want the Council to become involved in matters of a partisan political character. On accepting his resignation the Executive Committee of the Federal Council took note of the major contribution Mr. Dulles had made to the work of the churches in international affairs:

"As Chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, he became

DULLES' WORK IN THE CHURCHES (cont'd)

a creative leader in formulating the international policies expounded by the Council. His guiding hand brought together the major denominations of the United States in three great National Study Conferences on the Churches and World Order. His insights and experience were invaluable in the drafting of such notable statements of the Federal Council as The Six Pillars of Peace, World Organization -- Curative and Creative, Soviet-American Relations, The Churches and the European Recovery Program, Crossroads of American Foreign Policy, and Moral Responsibility and United States Power. ... He has consistently sought to enlist the support of the American people for human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world, for the economic and political well-being of dependent peoples and for the negotiation of settlements looking for a just and durable peace."

Although by this action Mr. Dulles ended any official connection with the Federal Council and later the National Council, his influence and participation in the work of the churches was by no means ended. During the years before he became Secretary of State he was consulted often on the work of the Department of International Affairs, his opinion was sought in endeavoring to find the Christian position on the perplexing problems facing our nation and the world. Shortly after his return from negotiating the Japanese peace treaty he met with a selected group of interested churchmen in order to make them fully aware of the far-reaching implications of this historic document. Even after he became Secretary of State, he remained keenly interested in what the churches were doing in the field of international affairs, and through personal contacts with friends in the Department he was kept informed.

Mr. Dulles was the featured speaker at the Fifth World Order Study Conference held at Cleveland, Ohio, November 1958. This was his last appearance before such a gathering, and he had this to say about them:

"I vividly recall previous World Order Study Conferences. They have been sources of enlightenment and of inspiration. I recall particularly the study conference held at Delaware, Ohio, in 1942. It approved an authoritative Statement of Guiding Principles, and that led to the formation of the Six Pillars of Peace. Our religious people mobilized in support of that program for world order and made a decisive contribution to the establishment of the United Nations as a world organization for peace and justice.

"...The churches have a responsibility to proclaim the enduring moral principles by which governmental action as well as private action should constantly be inspired and tested."

THE JOHN FOSTER DULLES LIBRARY

Some weeks before Mr. Dulles died, the Department of International Affairs was informed that the partners of the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, where he gave so many years of distinguished service as a lawyer, were interested in providing some lasting tribute to Mr. Dulles and his work as a churchman. The executives of the Department had long had a dream for the establishment of a research library on the work of the churches in international affairs. In presenting this plan to Mr. Dulles' former law partners, the following points were stressed:

A. To establish proper surroundings and adequate care for materials on the work of the churches in international affairs, since the founding of the Federal Council of Churches in 1908, and especially during the period beginning with the leadership of

THE JOHN FOSTER DULLES LIBRARY (cont'd)

John Foster Dulles as Chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace in 1941.

B. To provide for appropriate use of these documents by scholars, students working on doctoral dissertations and masters' theses, and other qualified researchers. There is already a constant demand for such services. Its proximity to Union Seminary and Columbia University would enhance the potential use of such a unique library and research center.

C. To develop and continue a more adequate working library on international relations for the Department of International Affairs.

D. To provide for use of this library and the documents mentioned above by other units of the National Council, such as the Division of Foreign Missions, the denominations, the World Council of Churches, the International Missionary Council, the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, and other church organizations located in the Interchurch Center.

E. To develop research and service facilities for apprenticeship and work by special appointees of the denominations for the work of the churches in international affairs. This program is in the beginning stages with some successful experimenting during the last two years. Six denominations to date have indicated that they wish to participate in such personnel training as a service to the Department and to their own work in reaching out to their constituencies. In addition to graduate students, the kinds of persons participating in the program would include junior executives, retired missionaries, and laymen with particular competence in disciplines related to international affairs.

F. To have an adequate meeting place for staff conferences, committees, and small, specialized groups related to the work of the Department.

After careful consideration of this plan, Mr. Dulles' former law partners announced that they would be pleased to contribute \$25,000 as the first gift for the establishment of the "John Foster Dulles Research Library on the Churches and International Affairs."

Mr. Dulles was informed of their generosity through Mrs. Dulles and she later reported: "I told him of this gesture, and it was deeply gratifying to him, as to me, that in this way others will be helped to carry on the work that was so close to his heart, and so much a part of his ideals."

DR. DAHLBERG'S LETTER

Also, during the brief period remaining after Mr. Dulles' resignation, Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, President of the National Council of Churches expressed the feelings of church people across the country in this letter to Mr. and Mrs. Dulles on April 22nd:

"We want you both to know of the love and prayers of all of your many friends in the National Council of Churches during these days of your great trial and affliction. Your faith and courage have been an inspiration to all your countrymen, and to all the people of the world. May God grant to you His special grace during these days, that you may experience again what the Apostle Paul felt when the divine voice said to him, 'My grace is sufficient for thee.'

"Mr. Dulles, you have indeed made a tremendous contribution to the history of the world. No man in the annals of our country has given himself with more complete devotion and wisdom to the service of the Republic than

DR. DAHLBERG'S LETTER (cont'd)

yourself. Time alone will reveal to the ages the service that you have rendered not only to the nation but to the Kingdom of God as a whole. We are especially grateful for the service you have rendered to the National Council of Churches. We have sometimes differed with you, but we have always honored you and loved you. We have this same feeling of gratitude for your service, Mrs. Dulles, as we know that it has been your unfailing loyalty and companionship that have strengthened the strong arm of your husband in all of his ministries around the circle of the globe."

ACTION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

On May 19, at the meeting of the Department of International Affairs, it was voted to send a message to Mr. Dulles at Walter Reed Hospital. It read:

"You were much in our thoughts in the meeting of our Department of International Affairs, National Council of Churches. Members voted with deep feeling and faith to send this message to you. We recall with profound appreciation your services to churches, nation and peace. We assure you our warm affection and prayers for God's blessing."

(Signed) Ernest A. Gross, Chairman
Kenneth L. Maxwell, Director

STATEMENT BY DR. ROY G. ROSS

On May 24, 1959 John Foster Dulles died.

His career as a statesman aroused much controversy. His policies were criticized loudly and often, both by allies and enemies. Yet, during the last months of his office there was a growing appreciation that his policies, particularly toward the Soviet Union, were basically sound. The New York Times said: "When Mr. Dulles had to withdraw from the international scene one word was heard over and over among the diplomats of Europe and Asia: 'Indispensable.'"

Dr. Roy G. Ross, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, issued the following statement:

"The death of John Foster Dulles, who brought to the consideration of international political problems the moral insight of a thoughtful and dedicated Christian, is an irreparable loss to the world.

"There are few who saw as clearly as he the implications of religious conviction in the determination of world affairs, and none of his generation who brought that conviction to bear so consistently in the formulation of policy and in the translation of policy into action.

"To him, a just and durable peace among men was not merely attainable, it was a necessity; but he saw clearly that it was attainable only if all mankind, whether Christian or not, brought to its attainment the Christian spirit of forgiveness, of understanding, of hope, and of faith.

"His was not a wishful attitude. He was not merely an implacable foe of communism and of fascism; he was also a perceptive and shrewd and deadly foe of all other

STATEMENT BY DR. ROY G. ROSS (cont'd)

tyrannies; he remembered that the victims of tyranny were victims whose rights as human beings had been taken from them; and as a Christian, he remembered that the greatest strength against tyranny is not material, but spiritual. He placed the moral attitude first in his attempts to bring a just and durable peace.

"From the day in 1937, at the Oxford Conference on Church and State, he came to the conclusion -- in his own words -- that 'there was no way to solve the great perplexing international problems except by bringing to bear upon them the force of Christianity,' he sought unceasingly to bring that force to bear on the great problems which confronted him as a man, as churchman, and as a pre-eminent statesman.

"Even before the United States became a belligerent in 1941 in World War II, John Foster Dulles was instrumental in creating in 1940 the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace within the Council of Churches, and he became the first Chairman of that Commission. This Commission was not least among the groups which led to the creation of the United Nations, and he -- in behalf of the churches -- was its moving spirit and its indefatigable advocate.

"This Commission, without presuming to proclaim political programs, brought the Christian conscience to bear on the problem with its pronouncement which became known as the Six Pillars of Peace: 1) A continuing collaboration by all nations to provide a curative and creative peace, 2) International economic agreements, 3) Treaty revision to meet changing conditions, 4) Autonomy the goal of subject peoples, 5) Procedures for control of armaments, and 6) The right of people to intellectual and religious liberty. This was the real moral basis for the United Nations.

"He was a bulwark of the National Council of Churches, because he believed in its purpose, and brought his tremendous talents to the service of that purpose. We have lost a friend and colleague. The world has lost a devoted and Christian leader."

COMMUNICATION FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Speaking for the Department of International Affairs, Ernest A. Gross, Chairman and Dr. Kenneth L. Maxwell, Executive Director, sent the following communication to Mrs. Dulles:

"As the eternal God inspired the life and work of John Foster Dulles and blessed your life together, we believe through our Christian faith he will surely now continue to strengthen, sustain and comfort you. We in the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches shall ever be grateful for the leadership which Foster gave to the work of the churches for a just and durable peace. We rejoice that his labors with the churches were part of the pathway to his unparalleled responsibilities in our nation and the world for peace with justice and freedom. We will have before us throughout our lives Foster's guidance, friendship and inspiration."

THE FUNERAL

At the official funeral on May 27, John Foster Dulles was given a hero's farewell beyond anything in the recent history of the nation. This final tribute began with a service at the Washington National Cathedral. It ended, after a procession through the streets of Washington, with a nineteen-gun salute and the playing of taps at Arlington. Many of the leading statesmen of the world joined the Dulles family and

THE FUNERAL (cont'd)

President Eisenhower at the services. Dr. Kenneth L. Maxwell was the official representative of the National Council of Churches.

Officiating at the services was Mr. Dulles' long time friend, the Rev. Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, Secretary of the World Council of Churches. In the course of the service Dr. Barnes delivered a "personalized prayer," which said in part:

"... O God, we give Thee joyous thanks for the life of Thy servant, John Foster Dulles.

"We thank Thee for his acceptance of Thy sovereignty and his obedience to Thy law which led him to unstinted devotion to justice, freedom and peace, impelled him to be a servant of his day and his generation, and made work to be a delight and not a burden.

"We thank Thee for his love of righteousness from which came his loyalty to the truth as he saw it, and his standard of unimpeachable integrity and discipline, inspiring all who knew him.

"We thank Thee for his steadfast faith in Thy power and grace which enabled him to put his trust in Thee -- a trust manifested in unflinching courage to contend with principalities and powers of this world and with disease and suffering without fear or frenzy but rather with calmness and steady vision."

At the meeting of the General Board of the National Council of Churches in Seattle, June 3-4, 1959, the following memorial was voted:

"In the passing of John Foster Dulles, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. feels deeply the loss of a respected leader and counsellor. Himself the son of a Protestant parsonage, Mr. Dulles bore strong personal witness to a living Christian faith, so that his passing is to his heavenly Father from whom he drew constantly courage and strength for all his labors.

"The National Council of Churches pays tribute to the leadership John Foster Dulles gave to the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace through which the Protestant and Orthodox churches of the United States came to a clearer understanding of their international responsibilities and a greater knowledge of the ways by which peace might be achieved and strengthened.

"We honor the memory of John Foster Dulles for the forthright leadership in international affairs which he gave to the United States as ambassador at large and as Secretary of State. Mr. Dulles listened sympathetically when the churches, through chosen representatives, sought to express their views on important issues of foreign policy. He sought constantly to use his great powers of office to achieve a peaceful, just and orderly solution to these issues. To this end he gave unsparingly of himself and revealed a deep sense of Christian vocation.

"In this time of sorrow for his family we commend his loved ones to the abundant mercy and consolation of the Saviour, and we rejoice with them in that everlasting fellowship in Christ which binds the whole Church on earth and in heaven into one body. We pray that in this fellowship we may be enabled to serve the same cause of peace which will be his most fitting memorial."

THE FUNERAL (cont'd)

On June 14, a Memorial Service was held for Mr. Dulles at Brick Presbyterian Church in New York City. More than 800 worshippers and fellow-workers of Mr. Dulles in the field of the church joined with prominent Protestant spokesmen in remembering his lifelong dedication to the church and his interest in the role of the Christian faith in man's search for peace. Participants in the service were Dr. Roswell P. Barnes, Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Dr. Paul Austin Worlf, and Dr. Wendell Q. Halverson.

John Foster Dulles is gone, but his influence on the work of the churches in international affairs will be felt for many years. More than any other single layman, Mr. Dulles was responsible for the direction the churches are now taking towards even greater interest and responsibility for international affairs. He revealed in many ways his continuing interest in this important work of the churches -- his constant reiteration of the moral issues involved in the conduct of our nation's foreign policy; his desire to be kept informed on developments in the churches which had a bearing on his special concern; his display of interest in the work of the Department of International Affairs through continued financial support, up to the very end, including a legacy left to the Department in his will, all testify to this fact. These things and more are evident that he never wavered in his belief that:

"It is the churches to which we must look to develop the resources for the great moral offensive that is required to make human rights secure and win a just and lasting peace."

TELEGRAM SENT APRIL 22, 1959

"The Honorable Christian A. Herter
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

The National Council of Churches wishes to express its great joy and satisfaction in connection with your appointment as Secretary of State. Knowing the great spirit of your Christian leadership, we are confident that you will make a significant contribution to the history of our country and to the life of the world. We shall remember you earnestly in our prayers. May God grant to you divine wisdom and insight as you seek to guide the nations in the ways of peace and righteousness. We shall remember before the throne of divine grace also your family and all your colleagues in the Department of State. God bless you always.

Edwin T. Dahlberg"
President

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